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After Stalin. More Unity and Vigilance Needed As late as 13 March there was hardly a single Home Service comment, editorial or news item not related to Stalin's death and funeral, and although the central and regional transmitters still appear to be absorbed in the aftermath of the leader's demise a trickle of "unrelated" material is already beginning to appear in the broadcasts. Apart from the current session of the Supreme Soviet which gets considerable publicity on the domestic and foreign beams, calls for unity, strength and vigilance seem to be the chief ingredients of the emerging propaganda pattern on the home front. The unity theme was in fact sounded by PRAVDA, IZVESTIA and other papers on 5 March, the day Stalin died, although the official announcement of his death was not made till the next day.

The illness of the great leader, says PRAVDA on that day, makes it all the more incumbent upon the Soviet people to close their ranks (sokknut ryady), rally behind the Party leadership and redouble their efforts. The Party led the people through the revolution, civil war and to final victory in World War Two, and its postwar achievements in reconstruction and the "building of Communism" are no less impressive. It is this unity between the Party and the people, always urged by Lenin and Stalin, that will sustain them "in these difficult days." In short, what the country needs now more than ever before is "unity and cohesion, staunchness of spirit and vigilance" (edinstvo i splochnost, tverdost dukha i bditelnost).

The unity of the people and the Party, says IZVESTIA on the same day, is the major source of our strength; it has stood us in good stead throughout the struggle for Socialism, and it will prove to be the indispensable weapon in the postwar construction of Communism:

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There is no doubt that all the working people of our Motherland ... will close their ranks still tighter around the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

Russian text:

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Net somneniya v tom, chto vse trudyaschiysya nashei Rodiny ... eshche tesneye sokknut svoi ryady vokrug Tsentralnogo Komiteta Kommunisticheskoy Partii i Sovetskogo Pravitelstva.

Unity, strength, preparedness and vigilance are the salient points also in the funeral orations by Malenkov, Beria and Molotov on 9 March. The unbreakable unity of the Party and the people, says Malenkov, is the one and only guarantee of the USSR's continued successes, and it must therefore be safeguarded "like the pupil of the eye" (kak zenitsu oka). Another indispensable condition for the continuity of Soviet strength, he points out, is the friendship of the peoples of the Soviet Union which is in itself a guarantee against the threat of all foreign and domestic enemies. As for the country's armed strength, it is "our sacred duty" (nasha svyashchennaya obyazannost) to develop it to the utmost.

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We must keep them (the armed forces) in a state of fighting preparedness so as to give a crushing rebuff to any invasion of the enemy.

Russian text:

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My dolzhny derzhat ikh (vooruzhennnye sily) v sostoyanii boyevoy gotovnosti dlya sokrushitel'nogo otpora lubomu napadeniu vruga.

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Beria's speech was much in the same vein except that he placed considerable emphasis on the present strength of the Soviet armed forces. Our soldiers, sailors, officers and generals, equipped with the most modern fighting equipment, will be able to take care of any aggressor "who would dare" (kotoryi osmelitsya) attack our country. "Let no one think that the enemies of the Soviet State will be able to catch us unawares" (pust nikto ne dumayet, chto vragi Sovetskogo gosudarstva smogut zastat nas vrasplokh). Vigilance, however, is something not to be overlooked; we must continue to strengthen it still further. Speaking of the "extraordinarily important measures" (chrezvychaino vazhnie reshenia) taken by the Party and the Government to insure the "uninterrupted and correct leadership" of the country, he said that one such important decision was the appointment of "the able student of Lenin and loyal comrade-in-arms of Stalin," G.M. Malenkov, to the post of Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Molotov's funeral speech seems to be phrased to point up his personal friendship with and intimate knowledge of Stalin. Referring to the departed leader's life-long devotion to the Communist cause and the people, he remarks

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This is how he was in his young years in Tbilisi and Baku. This is how he was in the stormy years of the Russian revolution and in the difficult years of Czarist reaction ... when subjected to persecution in jail and exile.

Russian text:

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Takim on byl v molodie gody v Tbilisi, v Baku. Takim byl v burnie gody russkoy revolyutsii i v trudnie gody tsarskoy reaktsii ... podvergayas presledovaniyam v turmakh i v ssylkakh.

The unity theme has been pursued so vigorously by the central press and radio since 5 March as to suggest that the new leadership is out to "sell" the Party and itself to the people.

PRAVDA points out editorially on 7 March, that Stalin's faithful disciples and comrades-in-arms will insure a firm and consistent execution of internal and foreign policy as mapped out by the Party because "the cause of Lenin and Stalin rests in reliable and firm hands" (delo Lenina-Stalina v nadezhnykh i krepkikh rukakh). The Soviet people are assured also that these "faithful disciples" will provide the necessary continuity of leadership and policy and will not tamper with the laws laid down by Stalin himself.

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The Party's plans for the future ... are based on the science of building a Communist society as developed by Comrade Stalin.

Russian text:

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Plany partii na budushcheye ... opirayutsya na nauku o stroitelstve kommunisticheskogo obshchestva, razrabotannuyu tovarishchem Stalinym.

Similar reassurances are voiced by IZVESTIA on 8 March. The Soviet people, says the paper, have confidence in their future because "they know" (oni znayut) that the Party and the Government are headed by trustworthy people, faithful disciples and comrades-in-arms of Stalin; they know that Stalin's policies rest "in the firm hands" (v krepkikh rukakh) of the new leaders who will insure "continuity and consistency" in the execution of domestic and foreign policies.

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The main source of the Party's strength, says PRAVDA on 8 March, is "the steel-like unity and monolithic compactness of its ranks" (stalnoye edinstvo i monolitnaya splochnost eyer'yadov), and such monolithic unity, it is implied, is essential also between the Party and the people. The Soviet people know that their happy future and security depend on the correct leadership of the Party which, as Stalin once pointed out, has no other interests but those of the people:

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They know that the Party is strengthening by every means the Soviet army, navy and intelligence organs so as to be always prepared to give a crushing rebuff to any aggressor.

Russian text:

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Oni znayut, chto partiya vsemerno ukreplyaet Sovetskuyu Armiyu, Voenno-Morskoy Flot i organy razvedki s tem, chtoby postoyanno byt gotovymi dat sokrushitelniy otkor lyubomu aggressoru.

Reiterated also is the Soviet people's "firm confidence" in the new leadership which consists of Stalin's faithful disciples who "will insure the successful implementation" (obespechat uspešnoye provedenie) of the policies already outlined by the Party and the Government.

Stalin has left us, says SOTSIALISTICHESKIY DONBAS editorially on 13 March, but his associates, "tested in struggle," will lead us forward along his triumphant path. Stalin's "true associate," Comrade Malenkov, has called upon the Soviet people to multiply their efforts toward the realization of the great tasks ahead of them, and that shall be done. The unity of the people and the Party is above all else, for unity is the determining factor of all our successes:

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To be true to the legacy of Stalin means to consolidate the unity of the Party, to be vigilant, to be irreconcilable and steadfast in the struggle with internal and external enemies.

On 13 March PRAVDA discusses the need for strengthening the Soviet State without mentioning any of the new leaders by name. It merely refers to the Soviet Government as the executor of the consistent Stalin policy and the Central Committee of the Party as the leadership dedicated to "the further strengthening of the union of the working class and the collective farm peasantry." The continuity in basic dogma and party policy discussed by this and other central papers on previous occasions is now said to apply also to the State structure, presumably beyond the changes already made. Here again the people are reassured that the theory of the State as evolved by Stalin will be followed by the new leadership, the Central Committee of the Party, to the letter. The State will remain all-powerful in the foreseeable future, even under Communism. It was Stalin himself who

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demolished the theory of the withering away of the State under conditions of capitalist encirclement and proved that the State must be preserved even under Communism if capitalist encirclement is still maintained by that time.

Russian text:

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razgromil teoriyu otmiraniya gosudarstva v usloviakh kapitalisticheskogo okruzheniya i dokazal, chto gosudarstvo doizhno sokhranitsya i pri kommunizme, esli k tomu vremeni sokhranitsya kapitalisticheskoye okruzhenie.

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Identifying Stalin with State power, ZARYA VOSTOKA (15 March) asserts that the leader had devoted "his entire glorious life" to strengthening the State, and that policy must be continued. Amplifying the point, the paper goes on to say that State power means primarily armed force coupled with political and "aggressive" (nastupatel'naya) vigilance. Such conditions, it is implicitly stated, are of particular importance to the peripheral areas of the USSR which border on foreign lands:

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We must always remember that our Republic borders on imperialist Turkey which is the military base of the United States in the East. American imperialism looks upon Turkey as its own military base for attacking the USSR.

A PRAVDA article by Patolichev, the Secretary of the Belorussian Party's Central Committee, broadcast on 14 March, declares that "our enemies, internal as well as external, would like to see confusion and uncertainty in the Soviet country, in our Party." "This will never come to pass." Although there is "no class basis" for bourgeois ideology in the country, we must always be aware of capitalist encirclement and of the fact that remnants of bourgeois ideology "still exist in our country." Nor must we overlook the still existing morality of private property and the carriers of bourgeois views, "live people, the covert enemies of our people." It is these enemies, supported by the imperialists who "will continue to harm us." Unity with the Party, solidarity and acute vigilance are therefore the "invincible and irreplaceable" defense. The Secretary of the Latvian Party's Central Committee, Kalnberzin, also writing in PRAVDA, says that bourgeois Latvia had been "one of the hotbeds of saboteur and espionage organizations" of the imperialist powers. He admits that in Soviet Latvia "there still exist" in some places the concealed fragments of anti-Soviet elements such as "bourgeois-nationalists, Jewish-Zionists, Social Democrats, contaminated by imperialism, and Trotskyites." These elements should be fought relentlessly since Soviet Latvia is "a border Republic" and must therefore be "as firm as granite" and unassailable to the enemies of the Soviet State.

Special tribute to Stalin is paid in a long IZVESTIA article (16 March) by P. Prokkonen, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Karelo-Finnish SSR. Reviewing the achievements made by that Republic under Stalin's tutelage, he says that the "irreparable loss" occasioned by the death of the leader will prompt the Karelo-Finnish people to rally still closer around the Central Committee of the Party and the Government.

In a talk broadcast on 13 March, Moskatoyev assures the home listeners that Stalin's death, though a great blow to the people, has not left them leaderless. His banner has now been taken up by his comrades who "combine profound theoretical education and a wide political horizon," practical revolutionary work and boundless loyalty to the Party and the people. In a RADYANSKA UKRAINA article quoted by the Kiev radio on 14 March, Semenenko recalls that Stalin had been the first to unmask "the treacherous role of the Ukrainian bourgeois-nationalists," in his article "The Ukrainian Problem" (Ukrainskiy usel) written in 1918. It was Stalin who first condemned the activities of Petlura's and Danichenko's "cut-throat gangs" and demonstrated that the task of the Ukrainian people was to struggle not only against foreign intervention but also against their own "yellow-and-blue prophets." In these difficult days, Semenenko concludes, the Ukrainian people are rallying even closer around the Communist Party and the Soviet Government which are now led by "the wise colleagues and disciples of the great leader."

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The Supreme Council Session is given wide publicity in broadcasts at home and abroad. This body was convened on 15 March to approve the emergency measures already adopted by the Party and Government immediately following Stalin's death. Of some significance in the Council's proceedings is that centralization of leadership in industry and agriculture appeared as the main item on the agenda. Thus the 51 Ministries of the USSR that were approved as late as 1950 have now been merged into 25, twelve of which are listed as All-Union (obshchesoyuznye) ministries and 13 as Union-Republican (soyuzno-respublikanskije). Among the most important changes are the unification of all the armed forces under a single defense ministry and the merging of the security organs into what was originally the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The newly established Ministry of Culture will, curiously enough, include also the functions of the abolished Ministry of Labor Reserves. Five of the seven Committees under the immediate jurisdiction of the Council of Ministers have been dropped, leaving only an enlarged State Planning Committee headed by Kosyachenko and the State Committee for Construction under K. M. Sokolov. The announcement of the new composition of the Council of Ministers is published in a 12-page issue of IZVESTIA (16 March) in the 16 languages of the Soviet Republics.

In his speech to the Supreme Council submitting the names of the new ministers for approval, Malenkov does not volunteer any specific reasons for this sweeping reorganization of the Government beyond the remark that it was "long overdue" (nazrelo ne segodnya) and is, of course, for the good of the people and the Government. In submitting the new composition of the Government for the Supreme Council's approval, he points out, the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Council of USSR Ministers and the Presidium of the Supreme Council

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were motivated by the fact that the strength of our leadership consists of its collective spirit, cohesion and monolithic unity.

Russian text:

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iskhodili iz togo, chto sila nashego rukovodstva sostoit v ego kollektivnosti, splochnosti i monolitnosti.

Malenkov refers to the retrospective wisdom of the changes which, it is claimed, had been initiated during the life of Stalin. Some of them in fact, were being carried out (vynashivalis) for a long time. Stalin's death has merely "accelerated the implementation" (uskorila provedeniye v zhizn) of the necessary changes which were actually begun some time ago. The realization of these measures will "undoubtedly" (nesomnenno) facilitate the solution of the tasks ahead of us--one of which is "the strengthening of the powerful Soviet armed forces" (ukrepleniye mogushchestvennykh Sovetskikh Vooruzhennykh Sil) so that the defense and security of the Fatherland may be insured. The merging of the various ministries into fewer and larger organizations and the consequent centralization of leadership is referred to as "the further improvement of leadership" (dalneysheye uluchsheniye rukovodstva), but that point, just like the other aspects of the Government reshuffle, is not amplified.

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Karl Marx Death Anniversary: Although priority is still given to materials dealing with the passing of Stalin, the 70th anniversary of the death of Karl Marx gets fairly heavy publicity. PRAVDA (14 March) devotes an entire page to the "founder of scientific Communism" in addition to an editorial. Eulogies are carried also by IZVESTIA, TRUD, RED STAR, LITERARY GAZETTE and a number of regional publications. Prominence is given also to a Home Service talk by Bachelor of Historical Sciences Samorukov on "the Class Origins of Marxism" (14 March), and to a PRAVDA article by Wilhelm Pieck (14 March) on Stalin's contribution to Marxist theory and the "special importance" attached by Karl Marx to the German working class.

Gottwald's Death is accorded heavy publicity on the Home Service and in the press. PRAVDA, IZVESTIA, TRUD and other papers devote almost the entire front page (on 15 March) to the official announcement of the Czechoslovak Party. Front-paged also are the messages of condolence from the Central Committee of the USSR Communist Party, the Presidium of the Supreme Council and the Council of Minister, while a large photograph of the late Czech President is reproduced in all the central papers. It is also announced that special Government delegation headed by Marshal Bulganin has been appointed to attend Gottwald's funeral.

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